contact with Okinawa may have taken place in 743 A.D., but this may have been confined to the island of Kume, west of Naha, and not involved Okinawa itself.[6] 175 177 648

The modern Japanese contact with Okinawa which brought about the fall of the Tenson dynasty is associated with the arrival at Unten of Tametomo in the latter part of the twelfth century. Some have regarded this as historical, others as perhaps legendary.

Unten, on the Motobu peninsula, is one of the important places in the historical geography of Okinawa island. This is the Port Melville of the Western explorers, Hall and Perry, both of whom charted the bay and its harbor.

Tametomo, of the Minemoto clan, exiled after the final defeat of the Minemoto by the Taira clan in Japan, ultimately reached Unten and there married the daughter of one of the regional nobles, and after a period of civil war, the Tenson dynasty collapsed. In 1187 A. D., the son of Minemoto Tametomo by his Okinawan wife became King Shunten. Shunten, the first of three "Japanese kings," was followed by his son Shusuna Junki (1238-1248), and his grandson Gihon (1249-1260). In 1260, the legitimate dynasty was restored under king Eiso.[7]

After his succession, Eiso toured the islands and is credited with setting regular boundaries to rice-fields. "It has been said that this greatly attracted the people so that they started to look after farming." Graves, according to a manuscript history, were first built in the island, at Urasoye, and the Buddhist temple, Gokurakuji was constructed with an officiating priest named Jenkan in charge of the temple.[8] 1764 346

The Japanese syllabary may have been introduced at this time. Buddhism apparently did not take hold. Chinese attacks on the islands in connection with the Mongol wars and the attempted invasion of Japan seem to have left no mark on the island. 210 719

The year 1372 is the beginning of the period of relationships with the Chinese, in this case, the Ming dynasty. This is contemporary with the growth of a vast trade network involving Korea, Japan, China, the Ryukyus, and Southeast Asia. It is not clear whether the trade voyages under King Satsudo (reigned 1350-1399) to South China, Malaya, and the Philippines were instrumental in stimulating the Ming dynasty to engage in the Pacific trade, or whether the forced alliance of the Ryukyus with the Chinese 175 648 439

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 30 --Analyst]

6 CA Handbook, as cited, 41, and Chamberlain, as cited, 306.

7 Chamberlain, as cited, 308

8 Manuscript history in Leavenworth, The Loochoo islands, 80. On the Japanese syllabary, see Chamberlain, as cited, 308.

1:Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

175 648 434 empire provided the incentive. The central district of Okinawa became an entrepot in the triangular China-Ryukyuan-Japan trade. In the beginning the cultural interchange was a consequence of sending Chinese ambassadors to assist in the investiture of Ryukyuan kings and the travels of Ryukyuan emissaries to Peking. Naha in Okinawa and Foochow in Fukien were ports of entry and exit for the travellers.

The Ryukyuan emissaries left Naha for Foochow on the Min river in Fukien and then began the trip north to Peking. Ryukyuans brought copper, tin, and sulphur and received brocades and silk in return. The Ryukyuan as well as ambassadors from Korea, Annam, Burma participated in this official reception at Peking.[9]

The first contact with Chinese learning has been dated at 1392, when the son of the king and the son of his master of camp were allowed to attend the Imperial College. The usual route from Naha to Foochow became a cultural corridor joining China and Okinawa. This contact with Chinese learning and writing lasted until the Japanese annexation in 1879. Hall in 1816 and Perry's staff in 1853 mentioned the devotion among the higher classes to Chinese learning, and though this no doubt was confined to those residing in Naha and Shuri, it was this Chinese educated class that ruled the island. With this learning too, there came the ideals of the Confucian state and its five relationships, parent-child, husband-wife, friend-friend, younger brother-elder brother, and subject-sovereign, which were reflected so forcefully in the family system and in the state as well. This coloring of the whole government, composed of men with Confucian ideals gradually changed, says Spencer, following Iha, "the whole mental outlook of the male population, at least around Shuri. This would, perhaps, not extend inland, and was not given to the women." In the countryside the influence of women, through the noro system, was still strong. This Confucian ideal of the state, as Spencer and Iha have suggested, probably had a great deal to do with the dis-establishment of the noro system as a state religion in the seventeenth century.[10]

In the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1526), there were further foreign contacts and domestic consolidations. Buddhism was encouraged and in fact reintroduced, this time from Korea. The Okinawans requested from their Korean "suzerain" the sutras, the Buddhist canon, and religious objects in 1462, 1479, and 1483.[11] Chinese artifacts, books, and other articles were imported, and palaces on the Chinese model were constructed at Shuri. Chinese customs, dress by rank order, and the Confucian ideal of the state became part of the culture of Naha and Shuri, probably less so in the other parts of Okinawa.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 31--ANALYST]

9 Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica 3 (1940), 201-02. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften. Monumenta Nipponica 4 (1941), 264-67. For the route to Peking, see p. 266.

10 Spencer, as cited, 108-09. Quotation is on p. 108.

11 Haguenauer, Relations du royaume des Ryūkyū avec les pays des mers du sud et la Côree. Bulletin de la maison franco-Japonaise. Série française. T 3, No. 1-2. Comptes rendues, 114.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

These foreign introductions were accompanied with the reinforcement of a native institution: the elevation of the female priesthood to what amounted to a state religion. This institutionalising of a native religion did not mean the exclusion of foreign religions or foreign ideas. The king used the noro system to bind his realm together: at the same time, he reintroduced Buddhism, himself becoming an adherent. The priestess of the Sho household, that is the royal house, was removed "to a place without the palace, but near the main gateway" of the palace at Shuri, signifying the closeness of the chief priestess to the royal house, the extension of the system to all the islands, and the centralization, both of religious and political life. Political institutions, borrowed from China and in a Confucian mold, with the dominance of the male in the family and in the government, now existed side by side with the hierarchy of priestesses whose power rested not only on royal patronage but on an economic security whose basis was ownership in land. With the passage of time, it was the order of priestesses that gave way to the male dominated Confucian ideal. This Confucian idea of the state, a combination of the individual morality of Confucius with the ideas of statecraft of the legists developed in the Han dynasty, retained its hold until the Japanese did away with the monarchy.[12]

The new government with its capital at Shuri, a port at Naha, a royal granary at Kung, and the town of Tomari, was rigidly departmentalized along Chinese lines.[13]

The Ryukyuan kingdom, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second half of the sixteenth century was part of a great trade network. This included the Great Loochoo, Korea, Japan, China, Siam, and with the port of Malacca as the center of the trade. The normal route was from Naha[14] along the coast of Fukien province, stopping at Foochow, up from the mouth of the Min River, along the coast of the Campa (modern Indo-China), thence to Malacca. From here, it was possible to trade with the islands of the Sunda (Java) seas, Siam, and with the province of Patani on the east coast of the Malay peninsula, south of the isthmus of Kra. From Naha, the products of Japan, Korea, and Central China were brought to Malacca; from Malacca, essences, various woods, pepper, sugar, ivory, and articles of Portugese and Arab manufacture were brought north. The various traders brought back to the Great Loochoo Chinese money, Ming porcelains, and silks of south China. There were Korean, Chinese, and Japanese colonies

[Text Continues TOP of P. 32--Analyst]

12 Spencer, as cited, 103. On the role of the legists in political Confucianism in China, see Fitzgerald, China: a cultural history, 103-04,156.

13. For interesting details, see CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 103.

14 The age of Naha, I believe, is unknown. Under King Satsudo in the late fourteenth century, and in the period of trade of which we are speaking, Naha had a sudden expansion. There were three channels into the harbor, the northern "Yamatoguchi," used by the Japanese, a center one, "Karefuneguchi" (literally Chinese ship terminus (mouth)), and a "Miyakoguchi", the south channel which was used by the ships engaged in trade with the Sakishima group. Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 36.

at Naha, and junks from the south seas touched at that port. Loochooans in this manner became known to the Portugese.[15]

Political relationships with countries other than China had accompanied this trade. Following the establishment of relations with China in 1372, there were contacts with Korea in 1389 when the woods from the southeastern trade, paper, and other articles originating in Indo-China and the East Indies were presented by King Satsudo of the Ryukyus to the Korean court. These relations with Korea were renewed in 1392 under the new Yi dynasty. The usual route north was from Naha to Hakata in Kyūshū to the Korean port of Pusan on the southeast coast, thence overland to the capital city of Seoul. Relationships between the two peoples finally broke off in 1500, although Koreans actually were settled in Okinawa and some were evacuated in 1574.

This was therefore a period of considerable cultural contact with China, Japan, Korea, and with the countries of Southeast Asia, and indirectly with the arts and manufacture of the Mahomedan world and of the Portugese in the crossroads port of Malacca.

This lively and important trade was brought to an end through three situations: the existence of Japanese pirates, necessitating, at a period toward the close of the era, hiring Japanese Buddhist priests as ambassadors and cargo protectors, (2) the appearance of the Portugese in the East China Sea, and around 1542 at Tanegashima, one of the northern islands of the Ryukyus southeast of Kyūshū, and (3) the maritime expansion of Japan in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the coup de grace to the Ryukyuan trade.

It is likely that many of these outside contacts, even up to the end of the nineteenth century, really affected Naha and Shuri, and that the rural areas were essentially unchanged. This would mean that the two cities had a culture revealing a strong Chinese influence, but also of Japan and perhaps indirectly of other nations, while the rural areas languished in the older elements of the folk culture, such as the priesthood dominated by women. Other facts which will be brought out in the chapters to which they belong tend to substantiate this interpretation that we cannot speak simply of a homogeneous Okinawan culture.

The conquest of the islands by the Japanese in 1609 was a consequence of the growing trade that had developed with Japan, first with the Shogunate, later, more specifically, with the Satsuma clan. Ultimately the Satsuma clan succeeded in displacing the Shogunate in the Loochoo trade and with the conquest of 1609 the kingdom came under Satsuma influence,

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 33--Analyst]

15 On this trade, which is much too complex to treat in a short summary, see Haguenauer, as cited, 4-16. Much new material appeared in two articles by R. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften, Monumenta Nipponica, 4(1941), 256-69, and Die Ryūkyū-Expedition unter Shimazu Iehisa, ibid, 622-28.

592
342 magazines and pasted on the wall, and here he entertains visitors who come for conversation or study.

3

Types of Houses

342 In all the villages studied, the houses may be divided into three general categories: (1) the Japanese style house with the thatch or tile roof, (2) the smaller stone house with the Japanese type floor plan, and (3) various shacks resembling in some details the simple structure of the old Okinawan rural house.

[313] The sturdy Japanese type house is made of excellent hardwoods im-
[434] ported from Japan or brought from the forests of northern Okinawa. This house was often constructed without nails. It was put together
[335] by mortise and tenon joints, and also with a piece of wood, square on the edge and about three inches long which functions like a dowel. This is known as a kusabi. In modern houses, both of the simple and more complex types, nails are more commonly used.

[355] The eaves of this house are supported by strong poles, unfinished, usually from the Japanese redwood (sugi in Japanese, Cryptomeria
[411] japonica, D. Don) or the ihumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllus D. Don). The poles are placed on flat triangular stones for foundation support. The houses have plank floors. Both the tile and the thatch roof types (to be
[352] described later) have the same floor plan with the size of the rooms determined by the number of mats (tatami in Japanese) desired.

The half tile, half thatch roof is not uncommon, an indication either of a roof partially destroyed by the war which has been repaired by thatch, or a thatched roof gradually being replaced by tile. This is a slow process, as tile is costly. Basically, all of these houses have the same general plan, except for differences in roof materials.

[355] The older Japanese type houses with a tile roof and the newer ones being built on that model are provided with a drain pipe for rain water
[415] catchment. This pipe, running along the length and the width of the roof channels the water into a large tank on the ground, reducing the
[312] labor involved in carrying water from village ponds or central springs. Many of these rain water catchments disappeared when the old houses were destroyed in the war. Drain pipes cannot be attached to the thatch. In general, rain water is not now a plentiful source of supply in the villages, though buckets and tubs are frequently put out during a heavy downpour, and this water is used for drinking and cooking until it begins to spoil. It may supplement the water carried from a central village faucet, the well, or a pond.

The construction of the Japanese type house is complex. Basically, the design of the house is derived from the arrangement of three rooms,

(13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap the peak of the roof. The two layers of grass require, when they meet, something to cap over them. This is done by laying down over the peak a rectangular frame of poles to form the base for the cap. The grass is then heaped up on this bed. It is held down by long rods of dwarf bamboo or miscanthus, forming a rough arch and running lengthwise. These rods with the grass underneath are sewn on to the ridge pole and the surrounding network of poles underneath with heavy twine or rope. Often also sharp sticks are placed cross ways. These are known as kansashi and derive their name from the pin used by Japanese women to fasten up their hair when they wear the traditional headdress. These sticks in fact perform this function; perhaps even better, they can be compared to the long hat pin. A thatched roof so constructed will last a long time, often 5 or 10 years, though it may be changed more often if damaged. Very often if the house has a thatch roof and the sides are made of a weak material, the house, including the roof is bound around with a heavy thick wire, cable or rope to protect it from typhoons. (Fig. 9 for a sketch of the roof). 342 335

The interior of the simple house which we have been describing is finished off in a simple manner with flooring and siding, also of cheap quality.

It may be added, parenthetically, that there are two different methods of laying the tile roof. In the hipped type, the tile slants from the roof to the eaves. The variant is the hipped type with a small gable. Occasionally, on the tile roof, an ornamental lion shaped terra cotta figure is placed for decorative purposes. 342 [532]

Tile is set over a foundation of long rods of small bamboo, dwarf bamboo or mature large size miscanthus. Rice straw is used to tie these rods together and to the frame. Mud, usually found in the yard and often containing considerable clay, is placed over this rod base and the tile is set so that the crests of the two pieces of tile which meet on the bottom are cupped by a tile on top. (Fig. 10).

5

Tools

Carpenters' tools are Japanese imports, although local blacksmiths make tools based on the Japanese design or repair them. The common tools are: 413 [439] [326]

(1) The plane (kanna in Japanese). The plane iron is set in a rectangular block of wood. In working wood, the plane is drawn toward the operator.

(2) A smaller plane

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Introduction

The basic occupation of the Okinawans has been and continues to be agriculture. The agricultural, not the fishing, wood gathering, or stonecutting community is typical. Fishing, stonecutting and forestry have been the occupations of certain villages or areas, or of certain groups within a village. This and the following chapter describe these ways of living. 463

Agricultural practices gathered from Hanashiro, Nagamo (to some extent), and Matsuda will be presented in this chapter. Hinatogawa has been omitted because it is primarily a fishing and stonecutting community, and there is nothing distinctive or unusual in its agriculture. This presentation avoids the repetitive description of similar activities that would follow from a discussion of each village separately. Significant differences, where they appear, will be mentioned, and in this manner, I hope, the identities of the individual villages will not be lost, despite the topical arrangement. 128

Okinawan agriculture is basically the story of four crops: rice, sweet potatoes, the soy bean, and sugar cane. Rice is a minor crop. Not all farmers grow it, and rice consumption rests both on homegrown products and imports. Individual farmers occasionally grow both to sell and for home use. Today it is less of a luxury than it was before the war because of the imports and the home grown crop. In Okinawa two crops a year are possible. 241 962 433 [439]

The sweet potato is the main crop. Cultivation continues throughout the year. Potatoes often are dug on a day to day basis as required for human or animal consumption. At any one time, the patches of sweet potatoes owned by a farmer may represent all stages of growth from a fresh transplanted field to a patch ready for digging. The sweet potato is the cheapest all purpose food, both for human and animal consumption. Okinawans tire of it because poverty enforces such frequent consumption. Since the war, the increased availability of rice for home use, and the opportunities of purchasing rice have relieved this complete dependence on the sweet potato. Among some families, though these are still few, the sweet potato has become the food of animals, with only select ones used at the table. But for the great majority the sweet potato still is the basic article of diet. It is cheap and easy to cultivate either by men or women. Little can be realized from its sale.

Soy beans are grown for home consumption. Making bean curd in the home is universal. Brown sugar is produced as a cash crop. Some is used in the home as a confection both for adults and children. [432] [263]

In addition to these varieties, cultivated locally, imported rice is distributed through the import stores. These rices generally are from Egypt, Siam, and Burma. They are not well liked and are considered to be tough (katai). Whether this is because the variety itself is disliked or because the imports were of a poor quality is hard to say, but Egyptian, Siamese, and Burmese rice are unfavorably compared with Japanese, Formosan, or the locally grown products. Okinawans are very sensitive to the types of rice. There is no such thing as "rice." Long habituation and fondness for special kinds have induced tastes and preferences which each villager is quick to express.

In Hanashiro, the main type of rice planted is also the Taichu 65, a variety which originated in Formosa, and is generally preferred. The red variety, mochigome, does not do well here, according to local farmers, and just a little is grown. Mochigome (literally, rice-cake rice) is used in making the doughy and gummy rice cakes.

5

The Sweet Potato

The cultivation of the sweet potato (satsuma imo) is a much simpler undertaking than rice culture. Fields are prepared by hand hoeing. The plow and the harrow are not used. In sweet potato cultivation, seed potatoes are first planted in a small plot. This furnishes slips or transplants for other fields. Slips are multiplied by using the tops of one field to plant another. Propagation thus is by clones, and this vegetatively reproduced plant is the mainstay of the diet.

The potato seed bed, well hoed and fertilized, is generally planted in the spring. The tops to be used as slips (kazura) are cut off and planted in rows. Practice has brought deftness in this transplanting. A small amount of soil is lifted up by the spatula, (hera), and held so that an opening rather than a hole appears. The slip is shoved into the aperture and quickly pressed down by the left heel, as the farmer moves to the next planting.[5] Few tools are used in the cultivation of the sweet potato. Only the hoe and the spatula are really needed. Occasionally one finds a special hoe with a sharp angle between the blade and handle or a heart shaped hoe with a long handle. In the Hanashiro and Nagamo areas, the solid bladed hoe is the commonest tool. Two and three pronged hoes are less often used because of the hardness of the soil.

The cultivation of the sweet potato, as we have said, is a year round operation, though planting may slacken off during the winter months.

5 Methods of cultivation have changed little in the past 100 years. The same operation is described in Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 31-32.

of the rest of the syrup. With the stirring finished, the sugar for contemplated home use is spread out in pans to harden. That intended for export is put in specially prepared boxes, furnished by Naha export firms, stencilled and ready for shipment.

In Matsuda, the harvesting of the cane is the same as in Hanashiro. But the old Okinawan and Japanese method of crushing the cane is still used because the destroyed machinery has not been replaced. The cane is crushed outside. Three large steel rollers are placed side by side in a frame, with gear teeth on the top meshing. A sweep about 30 feet long is attached to the center wheel.[6] A horse draws the sweep, revolving the wheels. The cane is fed into the left roller, caught as it comes out, and then fed back into the right roller. The juice is caught below. The residue (kibikasu) is left outside to dry to be used later for firewood. The juices which have been caught are taken in a low lying building with a tile roof, put in a large round pot (marunabe) or a rectangular pan (kikunabe). An open fire place is used for boiling the juice; the fire place is sunk in the ground and lined with stone, with a small opening at the bottom for putting in firewood. This mill is privately owned, the property of an association (kumiai) of about twenty men who rent it out for individual processing. As in Hanashiro, sugar is the production of the individual small farmer from its first planting until its sale for export or for home use.

7

Other Crops

The most important of the other crops commonly grown in the villages remain to be considered.

(1) Soy beans (daisu in Japanese, Glycine max Merrill). In all the villages, soy beans were planted once a year, sowing in the first or second month, and harvesting in the fifth month. The field is prepared by making furrows and putting a mixture of chopped up green grasses and some animal manure, or a commercial fertilizer, in the hole in which the seed is planted. The farmer then waits for rain. After rain, he plants the seeds about three feet apart in rows from one shaku five sun (about 18 inches) for very good land to one shaku one sun (about 13 inches) for usual land. The plant is harvested with the small sickle. The beans are threshed by a flail (gurumanbo in Okinawan). The residues are used either for fertiliser or fuel.

6 This device is also relatively unchanged since Perry's time. The only difference is in the wheels which were formerly of wood, geared together by mortise and tenon joints. Stone crushers were also used formerly. In Hanashiro, I saw one of these stone rollers lying in the yard of a villager. For sugar making operations in the 1850's, see Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 20, 30.

434 The money
593 earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after deduction of travel expenses, becomes part of the family funds. Women in the fishing village have custody of the family money, due to frequent and prolonged absence of their husbands. This is an unusual practice, for in the agricultural and stonecutting areas of the village the husband handles the money, with the exception of a few yen which the wife may have at home to meet incidental expenses. The custody of the money (much made over by some observers) has no special cultural significance in my observation. It is merely a convenience, based on custom and occupation. Most earnings of husband and wife are in a common fund, though older children may handle their own money.

6

Other Activities Associated with Fishing

251 There is some local drying of fish for home use and export. Of
[439] the common fish, the most frequently dried are the mackeral, the swordfish, and the shark. Shark fins are dried for export to Japan; before the war, they were also sent to China. The small amounts dried in local villages are accumulated in places like Naha for shipment. Drying processes are of the simplest. The fish may be laid out on a piece of canvas on the ground in front of the house, an operation which creates a stench and an overwhelming concentration of the blow fly population. Racks may be improvised. Their ends, made of odd pieces of wood, support thin bamboo poles laid parallel, on which the fish are put to dry. Sometimes fish are hung on a line. If the weather is good, they dry in two or three weeks, but rain quickly produces spoilage if the fish are not taken in immediately. The mackerel when dried may be heated up by placing a piece over the open fire, then rolled between the palms to see if it has been heated enough, torn into shreds, and put on a plate. Occasionally a poor family of non-fishing people, or a widow, purchases whole fish or backs or fins to dry for home use or resale.

278 Certain fish are valued as medicines. Their scarcity in agri-
825 cultural villages prevents any but the most casual use. In Minatogawa, the commonest fish used as medicines are the lobster, the white cuttle fish, and the carp (koi), though the latter fish is rare here.

[252] The whole lobster is put into boiling water. After a few minutes, this broth, which is the medicine, is drained off, and the lobster is cracked open and heated, this time for preparation as a food. The
757 broth, which is regarded as very disagreeable, is taken for a variety of ailments. Its commonest use is as a laxative, although it is also taken for swellings, boils, or gatherings of any kind (haremono), for pains in the small of the back and the loin, or for a cold. The lobster broth is regarded as a very effective medicine. A white cuttlefish soup is put to similar use. The carp is boiled in water and the broth is drunk for fevers. The carp may also be grown in village ponds.

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Hinatogawa

The Hinatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Hinatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

512
821 A fishing village has a different kind of regularity than an agricultural village. Activities in both are determined by the weather. During a heavy rain, everyone is in his house. But the farmer, even with a dark angry sky, can work up to the storm, and often continues working in a mild rain. The fishing village is guided both by bad and anticipated bad weather. On a fine fishing day, the village seems deserted with the men gone, and the women in the homes. But several days of rain or unfavorable weather keep the men home, and the village is alive with other activities, such as repairing nets, boats, and houses. Much of the fisherman's work at sea is at night, either in the actual fishing or in going and coming.
[513] For this reason, there is considerable daytime sleeping among them. On off days, the young fishermen loll around, often finding it difficult to pass the time away.

9

Conclusion

226
184 Fishing has become the occupation of a few places, such as Itoman town, some villages on the Motobu peninsular, and Hinatogawa. Ryukyuans have achieved considerable fame for their skill in fishing in waters other than their own, such as their drive-in net fishing in the East Indies and around Singapore.[3] Possibly it is the fewness of good ports, the necessity of adapting requirements to varying local geographical conditions, such as the coral reefs, or the long period of emigration that have prevented the large scale development of fishing on this island and insured the dominance of an agricultural life.

262 It is also a striking fact that, on this small island where no village is far from the sea, fish is an uncommon article of the diet. The explanation is simple. It is a problem of distribution in which
[435] two considerations are involved: the higher prices obtainable in Naha,
[251] and the difficulties of preserving fish while distributing them through
[439] the rural villages. More often than not, the fish in a farmer's diet is the dried sardine or a canned fish from Japan, not the local catch.

Part 2

The Quarries of Hinatogawa-Nagamo

1

Introduction

324 Hinatogawa is famous throughout Okinawa for its stone. Stone
[458] from the village and its environs may be seen in many towns and villages of the island. Before the war, there was a flourishing boat trade in wood and stone between Hinatogawa and the northern region. The fine

3 For a recent statement, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu area, as cited, 7-9.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

and improvement of rural life, have continued to function. The most important of these are the agricultural associations (nogyōkumiai). In Okinawa, they are organized on a township level. The agricultural association is usually near the township office. It is both a buying and a selling concern. It buys and sells agricultural tools and simple farm machinery. The association may also buy and introduce into the agricultural village new techniques, tools, insect and pest control preparations, and other supplies imported from America or Japan. Buying and distribution for sale are at present more active functions than making loans. In any one year, a borrower may obtain a ¥200 loan, but the chief difficulty (Dec. 1951) is that the association has little money. In Gushichan village, the association buys and re-sells firewood, imported from the northern mountain region.

The fishermen's association in Hinatogawa has already been described. It may buy and distribute fishing gear, gas and oil, and other marine necessities.

Within the village itself, there are co-operative groups. The sugar mill co-operative of Hanashiro is typical. This has about 125 members, both men and women, and includes most of the families of the village. Each member pays to the association a fee for the use of the mill including the machinery and the cooking vessels. Of the fee, 60% goes to care and maintenance, 10% to the head of the co-operative who handles the administrative details, while 30% is held in reserve and redistributed as a rebate to members after the end of the season, if there is a surplus. The sugar is individually produced and sold. The village co-operative is concerned only with the care and maintenance of the mill and its facilities.

In Matsuda a pig raiser's co-operative (yōtonkumiai) has been started. The main emphasis is on breeding rather than on marketing. The group, which has about 61 members, is a result of the intense interest which has followed the introduction of American breeds. The head of this group is chosen by the membership. The organization is interested in the diffusion of information on the care and breeding of pigs and its membership participates in regional meetings of pig raisers.

4

The Cash Economy of Rural Villages

The use of money in Okinawa seems to be recent. Hall and M'Leod in 1816 wrote that they observed no money, and that the Okinawans did not know its uses. Commodore Perry, who had a crisp reaction both to the Okinawans and to Hall's descriptions of them, said they knew "the value of gold and silver very well, and they traffic for the Chinese 'cash', of which from twelve to fourteen hundred are equivalent to the Spanish dollar." Chamberlain (1895) said that the Okinawans had

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

necessities of life. Fishermen are more accustomed to dealing in currency transactions and these are more frequent and freer than in the farming village. 434 511 184 [437]

The economic history of the average Okinawan agricultural village from the late 19th century when Japanese control became firm to the present is largely an account of the fluctuations in rice, sweet potato and sugar cane production. This history is difficult to reconstruct on a local level because of the destruction of records and inexact memories. The point is nevertheless worth making, if only to stress again that these villages are not isolated rural economies. The general experience seems to have been that crop acreages have contracted and expanded in response to local needs and to the demands of trade with Japan. 433 [439]

In the Hanashiro area, to use one example, there is a current interest in rice production because of its high value, and sugar cane seems to be displacing some sweet potato acreage. Sugar, even though coarse and unrefined, has a market in Japan strong enough to warrant production for the cash income at the expense of the cheap and plentiful sweet potato. 433 435

One of the most significant facts of economic life in these villages has been the maintenance of individual farms and crop variety. Plantation monoculture, subject to international price fluctuations and often conducive to local impoverishment, has not developed. 423 311

Private ownership in land, the inheritance of land within the family system, individual farms, tiny as they are, have undoubtedly been a stabilising influence on these village economies. 423 428

000 vegetables in season.

262 On special occasions, cookies, cakes, and more fresh fish and meat are served. In Okinawa any food out of the ordinary is called a feast or a treat (gochiso). Fresh fish, fish cakes, beef, pork make up a feast, for these are seldom served in the routine meal. Fish, pork, and beef are universally liked, but fish is hard to get, beef is expensive, and pork is a source of cash income. Many families eat pork only at New Year.

By almost any standard, including their own, the daily Okinawan diet is monotonous and unappetizing. Nevertheless the present diet is an improvement over the pre-war one. Most villagers said that before the war, the diet consisted of the sweet potato and bean paste soup. Bean paste soup usually has a few shreds of meat or fish in it. In times of scarcity, or if the family is very poor, only the paste is used, and when this is dissolved in hot water, it makes a kind of clear bouillon which is jokingly referred to as "mirror soup" (kagami miso) because one can see his face in it. In Okinawan, it is also called "nothing in it soup" (nnshiru). Since the war, the rice imports from Java, Siam, Egypt, and other foods sold through import stores have provided more variety.

[839]

272 Goats are a cheap source of meat, but many do not like goat's meat. The milk is not used for human consumption.

Tea is served at all hours. Many Okinawans, however, have acquired a taste for coffee. Tea is steeped in a large pot and placed on a tray with the cups. Once made, tea stays in the pot until it is drunk. Frequently it is lukewarm or cold. Callers are served tea and small chunks of brown sugar, picked up with chopsticks. Sugar is never used to sweeten tea. There is considerable eating between meals, especially if visitors drop in. Women prepare a bowl of noodles, of cooked vegetables, fry an egg, or slice up some bean curd. Villagers eat enormous quantities of food.

[915] [574] [269] [262]

574 The people are very hospitable, but hospitality does not take the form of inviting friends to dinner except on special occasions, like a birthday celebration or a wedding. One family does not entertain another at dinner, but an individual member of a family who has worked at a friend's house may stay for an evening meal. Or a child may eat with the family of his playmates. Entertaining does not include a man and his wife. The wife normally stays at home.[1]

[562]

1 In Hinatogawa, I was told that the beginning of the preparation of the meal was a sign for the visitor to return home. This was not due to the broad hint of the host but to the reserve (enryo) of the visitor. "Nnun ni wariu" (Okinawan) "to be pressed by food" is said by those returning home at these times. One goes home at meal times.

178
195
241
939
349
250

Before the war Okinawa imported half its soybean requirements. By early 1951 the prewar acreage had been cut by half.[1] This resulted in the necessity to import soy sauce tax-free from Japan, which brought an ineffective protest from the Legislature early in 1954. 'Miso' paste, which is made of soybeans when they are available, is now made also of corn, broad beans, kidney beans, and various other legumes.

195
241
727
311
178

As early as 1946 the occupation forces reported:

> Rapid restoration of Okinawa's prewar agriculture is hampered chiefly by an arable land shortage induced by military requirements in the southern half of the island, where roughly 30,000 acres are devoted to military use. War damage and migration from combat and, later, base development areas seriously disrupted agrarian economy and early planning was delayed pending disposition of farm tracts affected by military expansion.[2]

That loss of both upland dry fields and paddy land was affected is shown by the following:[3] (figures are in 1,000's of acres)

Table II

Type of Land	1940 Acreage	1950 Acreage	% of 1940
Cultivated land	103.8	67.2	65%
Paddy land	11.5	9.6	83%
Upland fields	92.3	57.6	62%

Even more significant is a comparison of the 1940-1950 figures with those for 1904, which show the situation which existed before any Japanese military installations were built.

Table III[4]

Year	Acres Paddy Land	Acres Dry Fields	Total Arable Acres
1904	15,779.1	93,952.6	109,731.7
1940	11,527.25	82,273.86	93,801.11
1950	9,559.56	57,610.16	67,169.72

1 Ryukyu Islands Economic Statistics Bulletin, no. 10, January-March, 1951.

2 Summation...op. cit., p. 26.

3 Ryukyu...., p. 13.

4 The 1904 data are from Summary of the Land Adjustment in Okinawa Prefecture, Tokyo, 1904. The 1940 and 1950 figures are from the reverse side of the large map, Okinawa shotō shōzu.

CHAPTER IV: RURAL ECONOMY

F. R. Pitts

1. Agricultural Buying, Selling and Labor

436
177 With the introduction of money economy in a more intensive form at the time of the Japanese assumption of control in Okinawa, the farmer gave up many of his oldtime practices and began to adopt through necessity more modern forms of exchange. Because his life remained essentially rural, these newer forms revolved mainly around goods and services connected with farming. Information used in the following discussion is based on notes taken in Nanahan, unless otherwise specified.

434 Sale of Farm Products and Livestock
438 Before the war the main cash crop was sugar cane, and the sale of black sugar provided almost the entire money income of a rural household. However, if additional money was needed in emergencies, enough dried soybeans were sold to alleviate the deficit. In the coastal areas of Kanegusku, Tomigusuku and Yonagusuku the sale of reed products supplemented the income derived from sugar.

Because of the decreased acreage of rice after about 1910, rice was not a major money crop. However, the postwar decrease in sugar cane acreage coupled with a rise in acreage planted to rice and vegetables have made both the latter more available as income-producers for the farmer. Farmers with a moderate amount of rice generally sell about half, but use the money thus obtained to buy cheaper but "less delicious" imported rice if they run short--- and can afford rice.

In the autumn, women from villages near Naha go out into the countryside buying vegetables and taking them by bus or three-wheeled jitney to the urban market, or to establishments that buy them for resale to military dependents at approved stores. Cabbage, for instance, in late November brings [435] a premium price of ¥8 per 'kin' (1.32 pounds), but a month later the price declines to about ¥4-5 per 'kin'. One woman will carry away about 30 kin at a time.

Poor people and widows often sell cane to the local motor-powered mill, and obtain a little more money by helping to process it. Those who are fortunate enough to afford to do the pressing and processing at a horsedrawn [435] sweep sell directly to the Agricultural Federation, or Noren, in Naha. For a one-hundred kin barrel they received in 1954 initially ¥1,100 a barrel. Later on, depending upon the grade of the black sugar delivered, they were to re- [435] ceive more. The scale of grade-prices in 1954, as given by one farmer, was: first grade---¥1,530; second grade---¥1,430; and third grade---¥1,330. Before the war each barrel contained 120 kin, but the postwar barrels are smaller and correspondingly more easy to handle. The black sugar of Okinawa sells at a [434] premium in Japan to candy manufacturers, who prefer it to white sugar. This accounts in part for the reluctance on the part of some farmers to sell to the modern sugar mill in Haebaru-son, which chiefly makes white granulated sugar.

Although animals are generally bought for prices that the community considers as relatively fixed (see below), meat animals sell for a certain rate per unit weight that varies with the market. Old cows and bullocks are generally sold for meat at the rate of ¥60 per kin. Boars, if fat, are sold for ¥42 per kin. Male goats bring ¥20 per kin for eating purposes, and chickens bring about ¥200 per kin. Females of any animals are very seldom sold unless old and almost dying, or unless the farmer finds himself in dire monetary emergency. Nanahan, which has the greatest vegetable acreage in Tomoyose village, has a 'han'-wide agreement not to raise chickens, due to their possible destruction of young plants. 435

Buying of Livestock and Daily Necessities The war depleted most of the livestock of Okinawa, and recovery has been slow. Okinawan farmers frequently expressed their gratitude to the American religious organizations which sent goats to them to help in reconstruction. 727 231 [177]

The reversion of Amami indirectly helped to increase the livestock on Okinawa. A Nanahan farmer described the situation in late November of 1953: 439 231

> Horses, cows, goats and pigs, together with household furniture come into Tomari port from Amami every day. The Amamians want to get as much Okinawan yen as possible, because it will convert to Japanese yen at three to one, and they think they will be ahead. The accelerated cattle movement started right after reversion intentions were announced. We are very glad to be able to buy the animals, but important people on Amami are afraid that this movement will deplete the island of animals, especially stud horses and bulls, goats and pigs for breeding.

Nanahan farmers have relatively fixed ideas on the prices of livestock. For middle grade, or average, stock the following prices are quoted: horses, ¥13,000; cows, ¥25,000; heifers, ¥10-11,000; calves ¥9-10,000; boars, ¥2,500; sows, ¥2,700; and all goats, ¥300-400. 435

Before the war there were many people traveling through the countryside selling 'miso' paste and bean curd. Every other day such peddlers would visit even the most isolated settlements. Better roads and increased communications by bus and jitney have oriented purchase of staples urbanward. The only peddlers who now come through Nanahan are basket peddlers. Two small stores in the main settlement provide 'sake', noodles, matches and other small-cost items that are not worth a trip to town. 438 178 443

Sale of Services Farm labor is drawn from the southern islands and from poorer families who are just getting a start in the community. In Nanahan there was only one full-time farm laborer, who was paid ¥2,000 a month, in addition to room and board. He had left Miyako when eighteen, two years before, because of a famine that was being caused by a sweet-potato virus. His employer was a man who managed a good deal of land---indeed the land that belonged to himself and two minor relatives---and sorely needed the extra labor. Another landowner was converting dry land to paddy, and after 464 [465]

[Kitazato]

175 621 727 It is said that the division of the village cut across family lines and that the motivating factor in a household's choice of one site over another was the location of their remaining landholdings on the periphery of the village. Another factor was the presence of relatives in neighboring villages from whom they might secure land for rental. Thus, Kijikina is largely made up of households which have their lands on that side of the field or have relatives in neighboring Furushima; the Hama people mostly own the land at the north side of the field.

175 621 The Pre-war Village Prior to the war the village was, according to 'son' officials, a very prosperous community and a great economic asset to the 'son'. It possessed nearly 173 acres in arable land, most of which [249] [434] [238] [439] was flat or gently rolling. The soil was well suited to sugar cane which was the chief source of income for the village; cattle-raising for export to Japan provided an additional source of income.

Unlike Kanegusuku the lineages were said to be rather weak in Kitazato; there were a number of different kin groups, and no one of these was [360] dominant. The houses of the village were not tightly nucleated like those of the typical Okinawan village but were scattered about in a loose grouping in the midst of the best agricultural land.

621 311 727 Land Loss At the present time (May, 1954) approximately 39% of the total land area of this village is in airfield, and an additional 34% of the total area has been ruined by activities related to its construction (sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion, etc.). There remains but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this only a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland was lost to the airfield. The total amount of arable land remaining is [134] 11,895 'tsubo' (less than ten acres), and this averages out to about 148 'tsubo' or 0.12 acres per household, with approximately five persons in each house. The average amounts of arable land per household in Kanegusuku, Okinawa, and Kitazato compare as follows:

Kanegusuku	---	1514.2 'tsubo'
Okinawa	---	1037.2 'tsubo' (per farm household)
Kitazato	---	148.7 'tsubo'

Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village; some families lost all of their lands, a very few managed to retain most, but the majority of villagers (70%) lost nearly all of their holdings. For example, the mayor of the village held 2470 'tsubo' before the war and now has 570 'tsubo' left; yet, he is considered one of the more fortunate. To compensate for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle: "We would not have farmed such land before the war as we are farming today." Some have rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given land by relatives in these villages.

621 829 727 Land Payment The people of Kitazato strongly feel that they are not being paid adequate remuneration in terms of current rental values for their land. They are well aware of the fact that the same U. S. military

The mental isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and following discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, established a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's association was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village.

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as providers of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abolished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a class basis as was formerly done.

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and subsidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded consumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy importations of basic cereals to compensate.

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self-sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, utensils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used in the village.

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weakening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued interaction difficult and often impossible.

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amalgamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered.

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed virtually all of rural and urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population.

period of time. This was usually accomplished by reciprocal labor exchange or by hiring the local youth organization to do the job. 178 406

In sum, the rural people are making eager use of labor-saving machines when they are available. The limiting factors have been shortage caused by the war, poverty, small fields, and heavily fragmented holdings. The use of machines has contributed to a decline of reciprocal labor exchanges and has necessitated the payment of cash for the services of the specialist or machine owner. 178 40 [476] [437]

Dress A most notable feature of the postwar period has been the wholesale adoption of Western styles of dress and the great reliance placed on Japanese and American cloth and clothing. Nearly all males now dress in Western styles of dress. Very infrequently an old man will be observed in a kimono, but most males regard it as ill suited for work and modern life. Sometimes a man will wear a kimono when lounging at home, especially late in the evening after supper and bath. It is not at all unusual in the cities and towns to see a man walking toward the public bath carrying his kimono; on return he is dressed in the kimono and carries his soiled work clothing which is of Western style. Even for weddings the Western suit is used as frequently as the kimono for the groom's attire. 177 291

Young women and school girls wear Western dress exclusively. The kimono still remains the traditional mode of dress for the bride, and at New Year's time young women and girls may wear kimono. Middle-aged women use the kimono and Western-style dresses about equally. The older women dress exclusively in the kimono. The style of the kimono for the older and middle-aged woman is usually Okinawan, not Japanese. Among the young women and girls who use the kimono only as a party costume the Japanese style is followed, never the Okinawan. [292]

Native-style rain and sun hats of palm leaf and wheat straw are still widely used in the rural areas; nothing of Western or Japanese manufacture has been able to match these for light weight and effectiveness. 178 292

A major influence on Okinawan styles of dress has been the clothing of the US military forces. This has been obtained through clothes rations, surpluses, and petty black market operations. US Army fatigues, chino pants and shirts, wool pants, field jackets, fatigue caps and ponchos, are very popular particularly in the rural areas, so much so that the bulk of rural Okinawa is dressed in colors of olive drab, suntan, or field green. All attest to the durability of American cloth. A number of Okinawans asserted that used American clothing was better than new Japanese. A number of small merchants capitalizing on this belief have begun importing used American clothing, which comes in one-hundred pound bales; according to all accounts this has been well received. 291 177 [439]

Okinawans use very little in the way of personal ornamentation. The large old-fashioned hairpin, formerly worn by both sexes, is used today by only a few old women. Tattooed hands, once common to all Okinawan women, are seen today only on women over sixty. The purely ornamental insertion of gold teeth is also said to be declining; among the young educated (high school) people of the cities there is said to be some reaction against this use of gold teeth, but personal observation indicates continued popularity of the custom in the country. 301 178 [304]